Fron County Register

BY ELI D. AKE. IRONTON, - - MISSOURL

GOVERNOR HORATIO SEYMOUR.

The Venerable Statesman's Warning Against the Perils of a Centralized Government-The Republican Party's Insidious Encroachments Upon the Limits of the Constitution—The Positions of the Two Candidates Contrasted.

Governor Seymour recently delivered a political address to his fellow-townsmen of Utica, N. Y., from which we make the following extracts, regretting that want of space will not enable us to give in full the words of wisdom that fell from the lips of 'old man eloquent." Governor Seymour

"It must not be forgotten that this Government is no longer the simple machinery it was in the early days of the Republic. The bucolic age of America is over. The interests the Government has to deal with are no longer those of a small number of agricultural communities, with here and there a commercial town. They are the interests of nearly fifty millions of people spread over an immense surface, with occupations, pursuits and industries of endless variety and great magnitude; large cities with elements of population scarcely known here in the early days, and all these producing aspirations and interests so pushing, powerful and complicated in their nature, and so constantly appealing to the Government rightfully or wrongfully, that the requirements of statesmanship demanded in this age are far different from those which sufficed a century ago."

These are not my words. If I had uttered them, it would be felt that I was making a harsh Charge against the Administration. They are the statements put forth by one of its officials, who speaks from his experience as a member of the Cabinet, and as one who formerly had a seat in the Senate. This declaration made by Mr. Schurz is official in character. It will be so viewed in other countries, and will rejoice the enemies of our Government, while it mortifies the American people. The speech from which this extract was taken was made as a leading one in this canvass "It must not be forgotten that this Govern-

ment, while it mortifies the American people. The speech from which this extract was taken was made as a leading one in this canvass with a view of directing its discussions. It was received with applause by the journals of the Republican party, and by the leading mem-bers of that organization. Its startling declarations force upon our minds the questions:
Are the disorders, the temptations, and the
confusion which press our Government due
to its character and structure, or to the manner in which it is administered? No other
subject so grave or so urgent is involved in
the pending contest. It it is true that the dificulties in the way of an honest conduct of
our affairs are so great that there must be
other qualifications for the Presidency of the
United States than those of intelligence, honrations force upon our minds the questions United States than those of intelligence, honesty, and patriotism; if our Government can only be carried on by an exceptional man, who may not always be at our command, then we have undergone a revolution. When we are told that a statesman is essential in the condition of our affairs it disturbs our minds condition of our affairs, it disturbs our minds as when we are told that a physician of un-usual skill is needed in our families. It means disease and danger. They are usually the words we hear but a little while before the crape upon our doors informs our neighbors of the sad result. If our Government is so in-cumbered with the confusion growing out of fifty millions of people and their varied inter-ests and pursuits, it is clear that when that population within the lifetime of many before me shall have grown to one hundred million and the compilered interests of our country and the complicated interests of our country are multiplied four-fold, that our Government must be overwhelmed or there must be marked reform in its conduct. This is not a remote or uncertain danger. It is one that we must confront now; it already taxes our industry and endangers our prosperity. EVILS NOT DUE TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Is this state of affairs due to the structure of our Government, or to they way it has been administered? It is not necessary at this time that we perplex ourselves with questions about the way our Constitution was adopted. Whether it was formed by a compact between the States, or by the people of States, or by the people in their primary individual capacity, it is enough for our purpose that it is an indissoluble bond of union; that it makes a General Government, and it recognizes the rights of States and of persons; that all these are equally sacred; the dissolution of the Union, destruction of States, usurpation of power, or the wiping out of lines which limit their respective jurisdictions, would each be equally revolutionary and disastrous. When we rend the Constitution we find it makes the we read the Constitution we find it makes the most conservative Government in existence; that, beyond any other system, it protects the rights of persons and of minorities. It measures out with careful terms the jurisdiction of Congress. It gives to each citizen rights of person, of property, of conscience, and of speech, so well guarded that a single man may, with regard to them, defy the Government, although it may act under the impulses of every citizen but hims. If. It places the President, and Congress, and States under the supervision of the Judiciary. This isto act as an impartial arbiter between them, and upon all questions which concern the jurisdiction or the rights of either. This method of defining and securing the rights of all departments, and the liberties of the people, is unknown elsewhere in the world's nistory. Even in Britain, proud of what it calls its constitutional law, and of the protection which is in Britain, proud of what it calls its constitu-tional law, and of the protection which is thrown around its citizens, Parliament can, if it will, unjustly destroylife, liberty and prop-erty; there is no power to resist its decrees. The Judiciary itself is but an instrument to carry out its purposes, however destructive of whatthey term their constitutional principles. Here, an unconstitutional law is a dead law.

ABUSES CAUSED BY THE REPUBLICANS.
As to the evils, corruptions and abuses which are set torth by Mr, Schurz, let us see the positions held by leading Republicans with regard to them. What are those doing who have been intrusted with the duties of administration and who seek to hold power? We have seen that the methods of those who have controlled public affairs and not the Constitution of the United States have caused the dangers which threaten no. In the first ABUSES CAUSED BY THE REPUBLICANS. the dangers which threaten us. In the first place the candidate of the Republican party openly expressed his joy that Congress has thus enlarged its jurisdiction, and, to use his own phrase, he is glad "that it gravitates toward more power." He not only wishes the Government to gain this, but he is willing that it should do so by indirection and subtle construction. He does not say as he should do if struction. He does not say as he should do if he seeks a change in the character of our Government that it should be made by open and direct amendments, but he tries to bring it about by the use of doubtful phrases. I speak particularly about his position, as he is now the exponent of the great party which has placed him in nomination for the Presidency. The leaders in the canvass on that side are those that hold places as Senators or as Cabinet Ministers, or important positions under the present Administration. All of them in fact, and in some form, ask that their powers should be increased by taking from the people some of their home rights. They say in effect, Give to us your rights of making laws for yourselves; we can take care of your say in effect, Give to us your rights of making laws for yourselves; we can take care of your interests better than you can. Every demand for jurisdiction for the General Government is a demand for the surrender of rights by the people in their towns, their counties or their states. Mr. Garfield openly expresses his satistaction and his desire, if he is elected Presi-dent, that the Government should have more power than it had when Washington and Adpower than it had when Washington and Adams and Jefferson and Jackson illied the Executive Chair. He says there has been a gain and that there will be more by force of gravitation; not by the popular will, not by changes in the Constitution in a regular way, but that authority, patronage, and power will add to themselves, will by their weight increase and grow until they are up to the full measure of his desires. He rejoices to see this done in a way against which way against which

GEORGE WASHINGTON WARNED YOU in his farewell address, which was submitted to Alexander Hamilton and other statesmen before he gave it to the American people:

"It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caption in those intrusted with its administration of the themselves within their caution in those intrusted with its adminis-tration to confine themselves within their re-spective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of en-croachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to cre-ate, whatever form of government, a real des-potism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predomi-nates in the human heart, is sufficient to sat-

by which tree governments are destroyed.

The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can, at any time,

If I had not stated that these were the words of George Washington, it would be thought I was indulging in a personal attack upon Mr. Garfield, so severe are they upon his methods and the precedents he would make. Prominent as a Republican speaker is Mr. Schurz. When he told of the state of affairs at Washington we looked for a deposit for ington we looked for a demand for strong and stern dealing with public evils. But he gides off into a suggestion more hurtful to Mr. Garfield in the minds of thoughtful men than any attack made upon him by his political opponents. He intimates that, as Mr. Garfield has nents. He intimates toat, as Mr. Garfield has been at washington, where these corruptions have grown up, he has become a statesman and is the best man to deal with them.

Another member of the Cabinet, Mr. Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, takes a different view of the state of affairs from that given by his colleague. He dwells upon the business prosperity of our country. Overlooking the industry of our people, the tavorable seasons that have rewarded their labors with ample harvests, the demand for our products from other countries, he claims for the Administration the gratitude of our people for ministration the gratitude of our people for all their blessings. I have no unkindly feel-ing for Mr. Sherman; I regret that he does himself a wrong when he is

UNGRATEFUL TO GOD and unjust to the laborers of the land. It is not the statesmanship of the Cabinet, but the statesmanship of the plow, blessed by a fruit-ful season, that gives us our growing wealth. Not the skill of the Treasury Department, but of mechanics and manufacturers, that make the springs of our prosperity; not the talk in Congress, but the toil of labor in all its varied fields. In another respect he does himself a wrong. He does not warn our people of the danger which the change of seasons may wrong. He does not warn our people of the danger which the change of seasons may make. He does not, as he should, admonish them that at this time, when money is abundant, men should throw off the burdens of debt and extricate themselves from positions of peril if times should change. He teaches the false and mischievous doctrine that government policies, and not honest toil and frugal care, that the schemes of the brain, not the sweat of the brow, give competence to gai care, that the schemes of the brain, how the sweat of the brow, give competence to men. Much has been said about the absurdity of flat money. How much more absurd are Mr. Sherman's teachings of flat prosperity. In this direction Mr. Sherman outstrips Dennis

NATIONALISM. The points most conspicuous in the speeches and journals of the Republican party are, first, that this is a Nation, and next, this elecfirst, that this is a Nation, and next, this election is a contest between the Northern and Southern States, in which a victory will be a great gain to the former party. We charge that the denunciations of the South are used to mask their designs to get jurisdiction over all the Union, and mainly over the interests and people of the North, as they are the most important and varied; that the term Nation is selected because it is a word of obscure and indefinite meaning, and if it is substituted for the legal and proper title of Government, it will enable them to make changes in its character hurtful to the rights of the people and acter hurtful to the rights of the people and disastrous to the prosperity of their business and industrial pursuits; that the mischief it will create will not be for the remote future, but that they are pressing upon us now, and will be left in their full force from this time on unless they are averted by the results of the pending elections.

It is a marked and conspicuous fact in the po-litical discussions the past four years that the Republican leaders have sought to bring into use the words Nation and Nationalism when speaking of our country. These have been heretofore used without any special signifi-cance, as terms generally applied to different divisions of the human race into communities governed by some forms of law, and in this sense we have used them to avoid the repeti-tion of the term Union, United States, or General Government. But they have now become the shibboleths of the Republican party and of all who have schemes for which they wish to gain public support at the seat of Government. While the men who use these terms never define them, their very obscurity serves the purpose of covering their ultimate objects, and at the same time allow-ing all who have political theories inconsistent with our Constitution to feel that they favor their views. In its primary sense the word Nation means those of common origin, and applies most aptly to the smaller divisions of tribes or of those of common lineage. In this more correct significance it is certainly not applicable to our country, whose population is made up of mixed races from all quarters the world. In its more common use it sigof the world. In its more common use a sig-nifies political divisions, ranging from the lowest to the most elevated political organi zation. When, therefore, it is said we are a Nation, the term gives no idea of the charac-ter of our own Government, but it leaves every one to infer what he pleases of its signifi-

cance. OBSCURE AND UNMEANING AS IT IS. it was adopted with the solemnity of a Con-gressional resolution, as a term which told of the power of our General Geverament. In 1876 a resolution was offered which declared, among other things, that the people of the United States constitute one Nation. All of the Republican members voted for this, as if United States constitute one Nation. All of the Republican members voted for this, as if it threw some light upon the character of our Union. So tar is it from doing this that it simply tends to make that obscare which was clearly stated in our Constitution. There is something in the words United States, the Union, the General Government, which is in conflict with the purposes of Mr. Garfield and his friends. They do not tell us distinctly what they aim at, but we find that those who seek for more jurisdiction use the term Nation, or Nationality, whenever they have occasion to speak of the jurisdiction at Washington. We always and that the men who use the word—and many like Senator Blaine love the states of the Government it represents. Its stripes recall the names of the states which fought the battle which gave us liberty, and which crowned their giorious work by forming our Union. The States are numbered by the stars which glitter upon its blue field. He who would blend or blur these symbols, so that they would tell only of obscure Nationalism, has latent treason in his heart.

We are asked why we took a soldier for our standard-bearer. To whom can we intrust it with more safety than to one who has had its deep and grand significance burnt into his very being by the fires of battle-fields? the word—and many like Senator Blaine love to call it a Sovereign Nation—are in favor of a different construction of the Constitution than has heretofore prevailed. Mr. Garrield openly states this when he says that the views held by Mr. Hamilton are growing in strength, and he rejoices that our Government is gravitating by Mr. Hamilton are growing in strength, and he rejoices that our Government is gravitating to more power. We find, too, that they favor the plans of that distinguished statesman of gaining jurisdiction by constructions put upon the words of the Constitution. As they do not like, at this moment, to develop all their plans, which would excite alarm particularly at the North, to mask their purposes and to divert attention by exciting passions and prejudices, they use the word as far as they can in connection with sectional controversies, so that it may be felt they only have in view the strength of the Union. It is this idea pians, which would excite matrix particularly at the North, to mask their purposes and to divert attention by exciting passions and prejudices, they use the word as far as they can in connection with sectional controversies, so that it may be felt they only have in view the strength of the Union. It is this idea which gives their phrases a measure of favor with the Republican party. They also take great pains in their discussions to carry the idea that Nationality means something favor-able to the interests of the North. We charge that the purposes of the Republican leaders ARE IN CONFLICT WITH THE CONSTITUTION; that they endanger the peace, the order, and the safety of the Union. They draw to the National Capitol hordes of men who have selfish and corrupt objects, who tempt officials to violate duty from motives of ambition and greed for gold. They impair the interests and

greed for gold. They impair the interests and prosperity of different sections of our Union, by laws iramed by men ignorant upon the subject upon which they act, and by legislation not only in conflict with the letter of the Constitution but with its spirit and the genius of all our political institutions, both local and general. I have already briefly sketched the history and features of the Constitution. I have set forth, in the language of Mr. Schurz, the evils which now prevail about the Capital, growing out of the various and complicated subjects which are improperly carried there for legislation. I have stated that the Republican leaders seek to increase this evil cated subjects which are improperly carried there for legislation. I have stated that the Republican leaders seek to increase this evil state of things by widening the jurisdiction still more, so that the increase of our population, the growth of all its business interests, so far from giving us greater security, will only create more complication, more disorder, more difficulties. We charge that those who seek covertly to bring about these results are animated by selfish purposes of ambition, love of power, or lust for gain, which make them indifferent to future consequences if they can reach the object of their desires.

Good Republican friends, we pray you do not indulge in sectional bates; but if you will be led into such warfare at least look and see that you are to suffer more than those you seek to injure. Do not shut your eyes to the fact that, while the advocates of Nationality have much to gain, you have much to lose by their policy. You will find they are talking for themselves, and that the contest with the South is a leigned is sac under cover of which

you are warred upon. THE POSITIONS OF GARFIELD AND HANCOCK CONTRASTED.

I beg our Republican friends to look at the attitude of Mr. Garfield with regard to the Constitution, and see if it is one that shows loyalty to its provisions. It is the charter of our rights and liberties. He has on many occasions sworn to uphold it. On the 4th of March part has all as Senator tree Objects on register and prometies of abuse if which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfact the human him human human

strument of good, it is the customary weapon struction for its language, you doubt if, in his by which tree governments are destroyed. oath of office, he swears for or at the Constioath of oilice, he swears for or at the Constitution. You wonder what he seeks, which is
rebuked by the title of "United States," the
"Union," the "General Government." What
leads him to dwell upon the words
"Nation" or "Nationalism," which are weak,
obscure and trivial? Let us see how Mr. Garfield looks at his interest and position. We can
give his ideas almost in his own words when
he communes with himself. He savs: "I am
to be a Senator from Ohio for six years. Hamilton was right when he said that Senators
should hold for life. I am glad that his opinions grow in favor. He did not like our Constitution, but said everything depended upon the tution, but said everything depended upon the way it was construed. This heavy volume on my table, called the Civil List, shows the names of more than seventy thousand men paid from the Treasury. This does not in-clude the soldiers or sailors. 'I am glad to see we are gravitating toward more power.' The Senate, of which I am a member, gives most of these men their places directly or in-directly. They devend upon confirmation by most of these men their places directly or indirectly. They depend upon confirmation by us of the President's nominations. In view of this fact, he usually sends in the names of those we want. If he does not, we throw them out. While large numbers of those in the Civil List are not acted upon by our body, yet as a rule they hold under those we confirm, so they all look to us for support. If we can make the Civil List up to a hundred and fifty thousand, we shall be able to hold our places for life. The things most in the way are the words of the Constitution. I have thought much about them. John Quincy Adams once wrote some poetry in which he put in the mouth of Mr. Jefferson these lines:

"'If we can not change the things
I swear we'll change their name, sir.'
"The troublesome terms in the Constitu-

I swear we'll change their name, sir.'

"The troublesome terms in the Constitution are the 'United States,' the 'Union.'
They tell of States and other rights than those
controlled by Congress. I do not like the
words General Government, as it tells of other
Governments and States; there are some
terms such as Nation and National, which
those who made the Constitution would not
have in it. They were kept out by unanimous
vote. They are vague and do not show what
is meant by their use. I want them for the
very reason that led the Convention to strike
them out. If we get our people to use them very reason that led the Convention to strike them out. If we get our people to use them they will fall into the habit of looking to other Governments than our own for usages and laws. We have got this practice under way. In 1895 all our party in the House of Representatives voted for a solemn resolution that ours was a Sovereign Nation. We all wore grave faces when we did this. It taught us as much about our Government as if to show the prerogatives of the President we had with equal solemnity declared that he was an individual. The world is full of nations. There are many hundreds of them, of all kinds, from the Sandwich Islands up to the Russian Emare many hundreds of them, of all kinds, from the Sandwich Islands up to the Russian Empire. Their habits and usages range from those of the King of Dahomey, who kills a few men each day for his health's sake, to those of the Queen of England, who leads the quiet life of a good woman. There is nothing that Nations do not do in the way of law-making, and no one can define their character as a class. The word Nationalism has different meanings to different men. In due time, if we are firmly seated in power, we can tell the public what we mean by it; our definition will be that we want more jurisdiction for Government; this means more cost for more men to do more duties. The additions thus made to officials will give to Senators more power, patronage will give to Senators more power, patronage and wealth. I will use these words, Nation and National, as often as I can. I will strew them through all my speeches and letters.

They are now the shibboleths of our party, and of all who have schemes before Congress. They sound well, and many think they lift us up to a higher rank as a people to be put in the list of tribes and of barbarous or uncivilized Nations. ized Nations. But we must take care that the people do not get alarmed at the idea of more people do not get alarmed at the idea of more cost and more taxes. We have the most to fear from those of the North, for in nine of their great States there are more than half of the people of the Nation. But they have only eighteen Senators out of twenty-six. It was unfortunate that we told them in debate that these States paid three-quarters of the taxes levied by Government. We must keep these facts from their minds. We must stir up the old have of the South and make them feel that while Nationalism will help them, it will hurt those in the Southern section." those in the Southern section.'

These plain words give you the theories of Mr. Garfield and his friends about this elec-Mr. Garneid and his friends about this elec-tion, and their plans for the future. What they say and do shows you what they aim at. Will it not be wise on the part of the great Re-publican party to learn and think who will be the victors and who will be the victims if they have their own way in this election? If they do not do this, they may fall into the trap set for the people, and that we all shall feel that

for the people, and that we all shall feel that Nationalism is a curse.

Turn from Mr. Garfield's letter of acceptance to that of Gen. Hancock. He bows to the decrees of the Constitution. He accepts its teachings, he is imbued with its faitn; its terms to him are sacred; his earnestness shines out in every line, and when he swears to support the Constitution in its letter and spirit we know he means to do so. Those who formed it not only chose fitting words to tell its meaning, but patriotism, like religion, has its symbols. No flag which floats in the wind of heaven tells so much as ours of the history and character of the Government it represents. Its stripes recall the names of the

deep and grand significance burnt into his very being by the fires of battle-fields?

There is not a color upon its folds, there is not a stripe upon its emblazonry, there is not a star upon its azure ground, that has not been made sacred to him. The appeal which drew him and his fellow-soldiers from their -by the inspirations of the battle-field, by the sad and solemn aspects of the blood-stained earth and the dying groans of men when the struggle was ended. He has learned the great lesson of statesmanship, not amid scenes of party strife, not in an atmosphere tarnished by personal ambition or schemes of plunder, but where Washington and Jackson learned the lesson of duty, to their country and of but where Washington and Jackson learned the lesson of duty to their country and of obedience to its laws and Constitution. It is now charged by our opponents that we are inconsistent when we place a soldier at the head of the Government. The propriety of doing this depends upon the character of the man and the nature of the service upon which he has been engaged. The General who has fought only for victory or a conquest, or has been engaged only to promote schemes of ambition, or gratify feelings of hate, has been taught upon the battlefield only lessons of force and insolence. But those who have dared the perils of war to free their country of oppression, to gain for it an independent Government, to resist hostlie invasions, or to uphold it against resistance to vasions, or to uphold it against resistance to its rightful authority, have their minds filled with objects instructive, ennobling and pa-

with objects instructive, ennobling and patriotic.

With intellects quickened by all the dangers and excitements of the strife, they see more clearly than other men the value of obedience to laws, and the duty of sacrificing all things for their country's good. It was in this school that Washington learned the grand duty of laving down his sword and retiring to private life when the world thought he would claim a crown as his reward. This act, so constantly referred to in other lands as well as our own, gave him his immortality.

It was in the same school, under like influences, that in the hour of victory Jackson curbed and restrained his flery spirit, and submitted to injustice and indignity, because it was imposed upon him by a legal tribunal. "If called to the Presidency, I should deem it my duty to resist, with all my power, any attempt to impair or evade the full force and effect of the Constitution, which, in every article, section and amendment, is the supreme

ticle, section and amendment, is the supreme law of the hand."—Winfield Scott Hancock. He who has learned to obey rightful au-thority has been taught the great lesson which

fits him to exercise great authority. He who reverences the laws of his country is the right man to administer them. He who has proved his devotion to its interests is the one to whom we can most safely trust the work of guarding and protecting them. Therefore we placed him in nomination, and go into this contest with the firm faith that we shall ele-vate him to the position of President of these

A Sound Principle of Political Econo-

It is a sound principle of political

essential to a sound and healthy adminin a Government like ours, where party rule obtains to the extent it does, is an alternation of public control between the two parties, at intervals more or less remote, essential to the public welfare. Long and uninterrupted continuance of the same party in power perpetuates the authority of the same set of men, and leads naturally to the formation of rings and all sorts of corrupt combinations; and abuses grow up in the public service under such conditions, as naturally and abundantly as the scum and fungoid growths gather upon the surface of the stagnant pond. It has always been a question upon which men have differed, whether or not the existence of political parties is not productive of more hurtful than beneficent results to a country; but it is the general judgment that as a if possible, than before. Republicans means of securing rotation in office and are heartly sick of the bargain forced a careful scrutiny of the actions of those having authority, whatever there may be of evil in them is more than balanced. Certainly, the very end and aim of political parties, the only thing which makes them tolerable, is that they may act as a check —has disappeared in the fierce light of one upon the other, and preserve investigation poured upon his record. the purity of government, by standing in judgment upon each other's official acts; and in order that they may so act it is necessary that the administration of the Government pass from one to the other at intervals. Human nature is much the same in all parties, as it has been in all ages of the world, and the longer the same party or faction retains publican press. Democrats have only the governing power, the more does it to examine the National archives and attract to itself the vicious, the dishonest and the disreputable elements of to find all the ammunition they want. the country, and the more does the The heaviest and wickedest blows ingovernment and the administration of public affairs fall into the hands of those have come from Republican hands—at incompetent and unworthy to exercise a time when nobody suspected that it; and it becomes a necessity, in order | Presidential lightning would ever strike to purify what has become corrupt, to the corpse laid out by Oakes Ames and correct what has gone wrong and to De Golyer. No amount of Republican make healthy what has become un- salve can cover, much less heal, these sound, to change the control of public affairs from the party which has con-trol to the one that has not. We believe that with the Republican party this time has come, and that the public ordeal not only unscathed, but with a interests demand and need a change. The Republican party has been in power for twenty years, which is about as thrown upon him by the cart load, but long a lease of power as one party not a grain of it sticks. Republican ought to have. It succeeded the Democratic party in control of the Government in 1860, and we do not undertake only "returned to plague the invent-to say but that a change was needed ors." Republican traps have been set then just as it is needed now. The for him, but they have only caught the Democratic party had been in power fingers of the setters. It is a fact, as for a long time, and abuses had complimentary to General Hancock as arisen within it, as they will al-ways arise when the lease of pow-er exceeds its proper limit. The time will always come in the history of any party when its retirement from would rest on broader and firmer founpower for a season is best for the coundations than it did six months ago. try and best for itself. In its latter days | Base metal may well fear the fire, but the Republican party has grown cor- gold never rupt. It has fostered rings and encour- reer which can be scrutinized and siftaged abuses. It has attracted to itself | ed as this has been, without discovering unprincipled adventurers, and made a single flaw or blemish in great or itself the refuge of demagogues. It has little things, may defy all attacks from engendered public scandals that have any quarter hereafter. The incorruptbrought shame upon us as a Nation, and instead of punishing its criminals it has dauntless moral courage, the self-sacdefended them, or sought to conceal rifiging devotion to duty, the uncomtheir crime. The men who are promi-nent in its councils, and whom it seeks the hard common sense which Repubto elevate to places of trust and honor, lican probing has revealed, have given are not men in whom the people have Hancock a warmer place in the hearts confidence, but are unworthy tricksters, of his countrymen than he ever had bedisreputable politicians, and men whose fore. integrity is, to say the least, doubtful,

obscurity. It has been asserted and beneficial to the country as glorious to upon very high authority, that millions of the people's money have disappeared and left no trace, that The Francs in Maine—The National the Treasury books and records have remained so long in the hands of the same men that the truth cannot be reached while these men retain control.

reached while these men retain control.

It is said the books are full of erasures, torn pages and similar indications of crookedness. All these things call for change. The purification of the public service and the interest of the country alike demand it. Finally, the Republican party through its long lease of power has developed dangerous tendencies. It is always dangerous to entrust the same men or set of men with power for too long a time. Parties are but aggregations of men and men do not as a rule surrender power until they have to. The tendency is always to the perpetuation of authority, by lawful means at first, by unlawful means at last. As misgovernment becomes the more pronounced, as corruption becomes more wide spread, and abuses more rank, so does the very necessity for covering up all these things prompt the party to greater efforts to prevent its adversary from obtaining possession of authority. The men who have now through the Republican party possession of the Government have been guilty of what they do not want the people to know. They shrink from the investigation that they know would come if the Democratic party were to succeed them in power. What is the result? They have shown themselves willing to use the most violent and unlawful means to retain power. They have struck down the bailot, quartered troops among the people, and by frauds of the most shameless description put into the President's chair a man who was not elected. They have sought to carry elections by means of bayonets and hired partisans clothed with official authority, and in various ways have manifested a willingness to override all law and justice in order to perpetuate themselves in power. The party basecome not only corrupt but danger-ous, and threatens not only the public morals and the National prosperity, undienced the National prosperity.

The Rational Democratic position party of conditions of the deciding of the democratic party were to succeed them in power. They have struck down the bailot, quartered troops among It is said the books are full of erasures,

believe that the time has come for a change. The Democratic party has put forward a candidate whose integrity of character even his enemies coneconomy that occasional changes in the cede. In his hands every interest of the country will be safe. There is no controling power of a Government are patriotic citizen of any party who istration of the Government and to the need fear to cast his vote for such a prosperity of the people. Especially man as Winfield Scott Hancock. We believe that the people see the need of ey and energy. a change, and see the way now to make it. It will be made this fall. "The hour has come and the man."-Cleveland Plaindealer.

The Two Candidates.

Two simple questions and their answers will show, better than anything else, the comparative standing of the two Presidential candidates in popular estimation. If the Chicago Convention could be reassembled, would it re-nominate Garfield? No. We doubt whether that gentleman could command fifty votes. If the Cincinnati Convention could be reassembled, would it re-nominate Hancock? Yes—and with even more unanimity and enthusiasm, -has disappeared in the fierce light of That record is found to be not merely soiled, but blotted; not merely blotted. but blackened. Not by rumors set in motion by secret enemies; not by "campaign lies" coined and circulated by political opponents; but by public documents prepared by Republican Congressmen and indorsed by the Return to the files of Republican journals flicted upon the Republican nominee bleeding wounds. The friendly dagger cut too deeply, and the victim will

carry them to his grave. Hancock has emerged from a similar reputation heightened and brightened by the trial. Republican mud has been falsehoods have been hurled at him, but these miserable inventions have

Such a candidate is worthy of such a and whose names are far from stainless. cause, and when such a candidate and There is grave suspicion that there are cause are united victory is well-nigh many things connected with the ad- assured in advance. Democrats, viewministration of public affairs kept con- ing the load Republicans have to carry cealed from the people that they ought in Garfield, have abundant reason to to know. The collection and expenditure of the public money amounting to have only to stand together and work hundreds of ntillions of dollars yearly is together, only to match their efforts something which deeply concerns the with the excellence and popularity of people, and upon which there rests much their nominee, to secure a triumph as

Committee's Address.

The National Democratic Committee has issued the following statement relative to the election in Maine:

POLITICAL POINTS.

The New York Tribune says of the Republican managers, "victory, they believe, is possible. But the work necessary to win it has yet to be done." When it comes to being "possible," in-stead of probable, the work to win will make a proportionate demand on mon-

-Gen. Grant's affected zeal for a fair count of votes will not pass for an honest expression of feeling. President Grant aided and abetted the false count of 1876, and prepared to enforce it with the army. He should get J. Madison Wells to indorse his present utterance and have it countersigned by Casanave and Agnes Jenks.—Washington Post.

-Reducing a section of Mr. Sherman's Cincinnati speech to compre-hensible English it reads: "When I denounced Collector Arthur for official rascality, including bribery, corruption and fraudulent payments in his office, I did not mean to intimate that he was not a man of honor and a gentleman." What Mr. Sherman was trying to ex-press was that, although the collector was a dishonest fellow, the General was all right!-Cincinnati Enquirer.

-It is a dogma of the Republican party that wealth must rule, whether intelligent or not. That is the posiintelligent or not. That is the posi-tion of the leaders and organs of the party. That such doctrines are anti-Republican and inimical to popular freedom is evident even to people who are unacquainted with the history of the Greek and Italian Republics. The mere expression of a desire to establish fully the plutocratic system of government here is treasonable, and it should defeat the Republican party overwhelm-ingly in November.—Exchange.

-Some Republican papers find it impossible to distinguish between what the North did and what the Republican party did. The North, in opposition to the Republican party, insisted that the pledges given to Lee at Appomattox be respected. The North was generous; the Republican party was vindictive. The North abhorred the actions of the north approximately. tions of the carpet-baggers; the Re-publican party approved. The North repudiated the whisky-ring and the Credit-Mobilier statesmen; the Republican party indorsed them. The Republican party stole the Presidency in 1876, and the North will condemn the theft in 1880 .- Louisville Courier-Jour-

—Since the political slaughter of Grant at Chicago, Democrats generally have been disposed to let him pass unnoticed, so far as criticism is concerned. They were willing to consider the crushing punishment received from his own party as sufficient atonement for his sins and short-comings. They had neither the intention nor the desire to rake up the record which brought upon him that punishment, or to aggravate still bleeding wounds by recalting the misdeeds which provoked the lash of retributive justice. But now that he has deliberately and voluntarily reentered the arena, and signalized his re-entrance by an accusation emphatically contradicted by his own words, the party thus vilified may be under the disagreeable necessity of adopting a different treatment. Democrats have nothing to fear from Grant's efforts for "the success of the ticket headed by Garfield and Arthur." but before he gets through with these efforts he may have occasion to regret that he had not remained in the dignified obscurity of Galena, to which his collapse in Chicago consigned him. go consigned him. - Exchange.

-In his recent letter to "My Dear General Logan," ex-President Grant says: "We should never be beaten until every man who counts, or represents those who count, in the enumeration to give representation in the Electoral College can cast his vote just as he pleases, and have it counted just as he cast it." The ex-President is a little confused in his ideas. A great many persons count in the enumeration of the representative basis, who have no right to vote. What he means, we presume, is, that every qualified voter must be allowed to "cast his vote just as he pleases, and have it counted just as he casts it." This is very sound doctrine, and ought to be rigorously enforced in practice. But what does the ex-President think of the Republican villainy which threw out 8,000 votes in Louisiene in 1876, and refused to count them. iana in 1876, and refused to count them just as they were cast? He himself was an accessory in that wretched business, for he sent his friends, Mr. Sherman and Mr. Garfield, to New Orleans to elaborate the fraud and incite the Returning Board to perpetrate it. His pretentious demand to have every voter's vote cast "just as he pleases, and counted just as he casts it," would be entitled to more respect if it were not impaired by this shameful transaction.—St. Louis Republican.

A Case Without Parallel.

In many of the States the criminal laws permit defendants to testify, if they desire to do so, and there have been numerous cases in which the accused have been found guilty on their own testimony. We have never heard, however, that a criminal, on his way to the scaffold, found consolation in the reflection that he has been convicted

out of his own mouth. General Garfield and his party are being reduced to ruin by the evidence which he and his friends have furnished. It is the defendant testifying in his own case. No "Democratic campaign lies," no calumny, no slander, no cruel accu-sations are brought against General Garfield. The Democratic editor or speaker opens the official records of Congress, or turns to Republican journals of the highest respectability, and therein finds not only the charges, all and severally, that are preferred against General Garfield, but the most conclusive proof of each and every

It is not strange that the managers of the Republican case lose their temper under such unprecedented and unheard of circumstances. They can find no guide in history, no light in experience,